DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 228 001 RC 013 961

AUTHOR Lucas, Barry G.
TITLE Diversity and Decline in Rural School Systems: A Conflict Management Perspective.
PUB DATE Apr 83
NOTE 25p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Montreal, Quebec, Canada, April 11-15, 1983).
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (120) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Community Change; *Community Characteristics; *Conflict Resolution; Consolidated Schools; *Declining Enrollment; Opinions; Political Issues; *Problem Solving; *Rural Schools; School District Reorganization; Shared Services
IDENTIFIERS Impact; Saskatchewan

ABSTRACT

While it is not the intent of the paper to portray the rural school jurisdictions as completely riven and incapacitated by conflicting interests, a very strong implication emerging from studies of these school systems is that "integrative" management policies and strategies are needed to counteract the fragmentation which has been exacerbated by the decline in student enrollments. Sections in this opinion paper include a brief review of sources of divisiveness in rural school administrative structure in relation to the factor of decline in enrollment in Saskatchewan and a discussion of approaches to conflict management, i.e., "integrative" management, consensus approach to management, political integration, sovereignty-dependence, and cross-cutting cleavages. The conclusion suggests that in reviewing two "integrative factors" which are associated with the theory of political integration, it was not the intent of this paper to suggest that they offer some kind of panacea for dealing with the problems of coordination and of public consent in rural school systems; that, apart from theoretical considerations, it appears events are enforcing the need for a greater degree of inter-community toleration and cooperation in differentiating and sharing educational services and resources; and that current approaches to organizing and administering rural school jurisdictions are really quite superficial. (AH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

rec 19-04-83

ED228001

DIVERSITY AND DECLINE IN RURAL SCHOOL SYSTEMS: A CONFLICT MANAGEMENT PERSPECTIVE

Paper Presented to the Annual Conference of the

American Educational Research Association

Montreal, April, 1983

by

Barry G. Lucas

Department of Educational Administration

College of Education

University of Saskatchewan

Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

S7N 0W0

RC013961

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Barry G Lucas

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

It has been a central proposition in political theory that scarcity of valued resources leads to political competition and conflict, and certainly there is little difficulty in locating substantiation for this proposition in relation to the problem of declining enrolments in rural school systems. However, this paper will not dwell upon conflict from the point of view of apparent origins. Rather, the focus will be upon the management of conflict as the most urgent political issue currently facing rural school systems. Following a brief review of sources of diversity in the rural school administrative structure in relation to the factor of decline, the paper will discuss approaches to conflict management, including the concept of political integration.

Diversity and Decline

Despite popular images of uniformity and tranquility in rural life, it seems appropriate to characterize the central political issue in rural school systems in Saskatchewan as one of "managing diversity". In accounting for this diversity, it should be noted first that the level of analysis is the consolidated rural school jurisdiction, consisting of a number of individual communities, most of which were separate school administrative units prior to the consolidation of schools in the province. Like school systems elsewhere, rural school jurisdictions are "functional communities"

(Deutsch, 1964, p. 73) in the sense of imposing political and administrative structures and procedures for the purpose of delivering services to groups of people who may have little in common other than the need for the services. In the rural situation, however, the problems of coordination inherent in this functional role may be intensified by the distinctiveness of the communities which are incorporated in the functional unit. Though there has been much controversy in the sociological literature about the meaning of "community", the concept has a relatively concrete application in rural settings where communities are separated not only by distance, but also in many cases by distinctive traditions and values associated with original community settlement (Smith, 1972, p. 61).

In relation to this community structure, the differential impact of population and school enrolment decline has clearly accentuated diversity and related tensions in rural school systems. Thus, rural school jurisdictions (in Saskatchewan, at least) typically include communities which are experiencing severe decline in population and associated services, along with other communities which are relatively stable in population and in the availability of services and facilities (typically including the headquarters of the school system). More specifically, this means staff cuts and school closure in some communities, but relative school enrolment stability in others owing in part to the busing of children from closed schools to those in the more "favoured" communities. It doesn't seem necessary to elaborate the

implications of this situation for the development of a sense of "relative deprivation" in declining communities, or for the difficulties faced by school authorities in allocating "scarce resources" in a manner which is perceived as equitable and acceptable by constituent communities in the school jurisdiction.

The Need for "Integrative" Management Policies and Strategies

While it is not the intention of this paper to portray the rural school jurisdiction as completely riven and incapacitated by conflicting interests, a very strong implication which emerges from studies of these school systems concerns the need for what might be called "integrative" management policies and strategies in the sense of counteracting sources of fragmentation which have been exacerbated by decline. In suggesting that some attention should be given to the "ends" of political activity and to the need for a degree of stability and harmony in school systems, this is admittedly a controversial position to take. In recent years we have clearly seen a strong reaction against normative conceptions of politics which are concerned with promoting specific ends such as the "public interest" (Amstutz, 1982, p. 22), and against structural-functionalist or "organismic" interpretations of social institutions which downplay the role of conflict (e.g. Coser, 1964, pp. 20-31; Simmie, 1974, pp. 17-20; Wilson, 1981, p. 120). Correspondingly, much attention has been given to the political or "open-systems" framework of analysis

which focuses on the existence of diversity and conflict in social institutions and their environments (e.g. Baldridge, 1971; Salancik and Pfeffer, 1974, 1980; Pfeffer and Salancik, 1980; Bacharach and Lawler, 1980; Bacharach and Mitchell, 1981).

Without engaging in a detailed critique of this school of thought, it can be noted in the first place that despite its claims of providing a more "realistic" view of organizational life than classical "normative" sociological and political theory, it is clearly permeated with normative considerations. Thus, the focus on conflict obviously involves a choice which derives from a particular conceptual framework, perhaps to the exclusion of equally available instances of cooperative relationships (cf. Pateman, 1970, p. 15; Searing, 1972, p. 22). While this choice may be deliberate and carefully-conceived, a more cynical interpretation of reasons for at least some instances of the choice might refer to the relative visibility and attractiveness of conflict in comparison with the much less intriguing characteristics of cooperation and stability. In short, the choice might reflect our "fascination with pathology", a propensity which assumes that the more visible phenomena are, the more worthy they are of attention (Pirages, 1976, p. 131). Certainly it would be unusual to encounter in the politics of education literature a case study dealing with the achievement and maintenance of cooperation and stability in a school system, assuming that such cases exist at all.

Reference could also be made to the normative implications of the value which is attributed in recent literature to competition and conflict as vital processes which in almost an evolutionary sense promote an organization's ability to cope successfully with changing environmental needs and demands (Salancik and Pfeffer, 1974, 1980; Pfeffer and Salancik, 1980). However, the main purpose of these comments is to point out that while we have a considerable amount of literature dealing with the "deterioration of political order", we have given relatively little attention to identifying the circumstances, conditions, actions and inactions which serve to maintain that order (Pirages, 1976, p. 137).

A Consensus Approach

In the field of education one apparent exception to this lack of attention is a recent study by Bacharach and Mitchell (1981) which deals with the formation and maintenance of consensus in school systems. As the authors define "consensus", it refers to the degree of agreement among various groups in the school system regarding the "content of the roles in a district with content being defined both in terms of responsibility (i.e., authority and influence) and practices (i.e., mechanisms used to carry out the responsibilities)" (p. 77). A major part of their study, they go on to explain, consisted of an examination (based on six case studies of school districts) of how the resources of groups were brought to bear on the development of consensus, specifically in

relation to the decision making process in the school districts studied. Basic to this approach was the assumption that,

> Every individual or group can be expected to approach a decision with the objective of maximizing their specific interests or goals rather than the maximization of some general organizational objective. Every individual or group can also be expected to enter the decision arena with a different definition of the situation (i.e. each will have a different view of who has authority, who has influence, or who should have authority or influence over a specific decision) which in turn will effect the strategies and tactics they employ. (p. 77).

This approach to the investigation of consensus clearly reflects the "open systems" framework of analysis, with consensus emerging (if at all) through power struggles, coalition formation, accommodations, and the like. (The essential question for political investigation, in short, is the classical Lasswellian, "Who gets what, when, how?"). The power struggle implications are particularly evident in the discussion of findings (pp. 87-90) which indicated that the "leadership abilities" of superintendents were "critical variables" in the formation and maintenance of consensus. Specifically, these abilities included tactics such as the monitoring of interest groups; the judicious use of information; the use of nominating committees to insure selection of the "right kind" of school board candidates; the use of lay committees to investigate specific issues; the socialization of new board members; the definition of roles and responsibilities between the superintendent and the school board (i.e., reflecting the strategy of maintaining political power through determining

and controlling the issues for debate, and through the transposition of issues into politically-manageable frameworks, cf. Schattschneider, 1960; Popkewitz, 1979); and relatedly, the tactical use of knowledge in the sense of emphasizing the power of rational knowledge to influence decisions, thereby elevating the role of professionals. In the conclusion of the article, a particularly interesting implication discussed by the authors concerns the tactic of altering the organizational design of the school district, which might take the form of creating a lay committee to investigate in an anticipatory manner a concern manifested in connection with the formation of an interest group in the community (pp. 92-93).

In reviewing this approach, the immediate question which comes to mind concerns its durability. In the first place, if the notion of forming consensus is associated with specific decisions, then it may be argued that the achievement of "consensus" is really a rather fleeting process which is actually much less difficult in school systems than much literature would lead us to believe. For example, if school authorities are concerned with mustering enough public consent to close a school in a particular community (not an infrequent occurrence in rural school systems in Saskatchewan) they usually find it expedient to appeal to their fiscal responsibilities to the total school system as opposed to the interests of a particular segment of that system (Lucas and Lusthaus, 1981, p. 58). And as Walker (1977) has pointed out, school board decision making processes usually operate on the

basis of the "will of the majority", making no provision for addressing minority interests. The recourse left to a minority is political protest, which, of course, may be successful at times depending upon the minority's ability to extend its power through the attraction of a sympathetic audience and the like. Nevertheless, the point is that the picture presented in some literature of school boards enduring a state of siege (e.g. Gaynor, 1971) tends to overlook the fact that the "besiegers" are usually divided, if not actually disinterested, with the result that the generation of a sufficient degree of public consent for decisions usually does not exceed the political abilities of the average school board and superintendent.

Furthermore, the tactics identified by Bachrach and Mitchell appear to overlook the possibility of incurring costs which might ultimately outweigh the apparent benefits of applying various forms of political influence (Gamson, 1968, pp. 59-91). With regard to the creation of lay committees, for example, one is reminded of Coser's discussion of the role of "safety-valve institutions" in society (1956, p. 45). Though such institutions may help to maintain the social structure by channelling hostilities, they are susceptible to goal displacement in the sense of substituting tension release for any actual effort to address the unsatisfactory situation which may have led to the establishment of the institution in the first place. As a result, the unsatisfactory situation may remain unaltered or become intensified, leading to new accumulations of tension.

This is not to suggest that lay committees necessarily exacerbate tensions or that the "channelling" of dissent is not an important basic strategy in managing conflict. Rather, the question is whether these and other methods as discussed in current literature give sufficient attention to the long-term implications and purposes of tactics for managing conflict, and whether we need to identify and develop more comprehensive and enduring approaches to "managing diversity" in school systems.

The Concept of Political Integration

One possible source of insight for this purpose is the literature which deals with the concept of "political integration" and with conflict management in divided societies (e.g. Jacob and Teune, 1964; Ake, 1967; Lijphart, 1968; Rae and Taylor, 1970; Jackson and Stein, 1971; Nordlinger, 1972; Hurwitz, 1973; Pirages, 1976; Aunger, 1981). As an earlier work (Jacob and Teune, 1964, p. 4) defines political integration, the concept "implies a relationship of community among people within the same political entity." That is, people "are held together by mutual ties of one kind or another which give the group a feeling of identity and self-awareness". More specifically, integration "is based upon strong cohesiveness within a social group", while "political integration is present when a political-governmental unit of some sort is cohesive" (italics in original).

An important point made in this source (p. 7) is that integration is a relative, rather than absolute term. That is, it is not a condition that exists or does not exist, but instead refers to relationships "which are more or less integrated", and to "a progression of events leading to an increase or a decrease of integration" (italics in original). Thus, it is important to note that the concept of political integration is not concerned in any sense with the achievement and maintenance of some absolute and ideal state of integration. Such a notion would obviously deny the role that conflict itself can play in promoting integrative relationships (e.g. Coser, 1956; Walton, 1966). Rather, the concept is concerned with identifying conditions, indicators, and strategies which may be associated with the achievement of a functional degree of political stability, particularly in circumstances where existing social and political divisions would appear to render any overall political and administrative coordination very difficult, if not impossible.

While the level of analysis in this field of study has been mainly concerned with total societies, there doesn't appear to be any particular reason for restricting analysis to that level, and in fact it has been suggested that there is a need for applying the concept of political integration to "sub-national levels", including municipalities and communities (Jackson and Stein, 1971, p. 126). Certainly there is no difficulty in identifying implications in this literature for the management of rural school

jurisdictions. On the basis of studies of these jurisdictions, the remainder of this paper will review two "integrative" factors which appear to be particularly applicable to rural circumstances.

Sovereignty-Dependence

As noted previously, the distinctive community structure of the rural school jurisdiction may intensify the problems of coordination which are inherent in the "functional" role of school systems in delivering educational services. This clearly suggests that the school system's ability to coordinate services will be affected by the degree to which constituent communities are independent, not only of central school authorities, but also of one another. In the theory of political integraton, the integrative factor which closely applies to this issue is that of "sovereignty-dependence". As discussed by Jacob and Teune (1964, pp. 38-42), this factor refers to a theoretical continuum, with absolute sovereignty consisting of a political entity's complete independence from any form of external control, either political or economic. Complete independence from the outside world, however, implies the existence of total political cohesion within the political entity itself. In short, sovereignty "is synonymous with absolute integration within a community ..." (p. 38). But by the same token, it is synonymous with absolute disintegration among communities.

That any community in the modern world could even begin to approach such a state of independence from political and economic ties is, of course, highly conjectural. For the purposes of this discussion, however, the theory of sovereignty-dependence implies that the ability to coordinate educational services within a diverse administrative structure depends to a degree upon the existence of inter-dependence among the components of that structure. Indeed, an implication of the theory is that "integrative" management strategies might appropriately include deliberate efforts to promote such inter-dependence.

These implications are closely associated with a "systems" conceptualization of community structure and function which has been applied in particular to rural areas in the prairie regions (Zimmerman and Moneo, 1971; Meredith, 1975). Essentially, the "prairie community system" approach rejects the focus on individual communities as the unit of analysis in community study, and stresses instead the social, economic, and political needs and relationships which link groups of communities into a total community system or "full-fledged community" (Meredith,1975). The point is that,

> Just as no one would take part of a city, such as a neighbourhood, and treat it as the whole city, it makes little sense ... to take the parts of an equivalent rural settlement system and treat them as though they were the whole. (Meredith, 1975, p. 20).

Thus, a basic assumption of the approach is that all parts of the system have a role to play in its maintenance. Size in itself, in

other words, is a highly superficial indicator of a community's viability and significance in relation to the total community system. Rather, the various-sized communities which compose the system fulfill a variety of complementary roles, including those of serving as "neighbourhood centres" which provide convenience shopping facilities for immediate needs; as "community centres' which provide facilities (e.g. recreational) for social needs; and as "rural downtowns" which are large enough to provide a comprehensive array of consumer goods, including most of the larger expenditure items required by rural residents (Meredith, 1975).

It should be noted, however, that this is not a static notion of the roles of communities. Rather, the community systems approach maintains that a "sorting out" process is taking place among rural communities in relation to changing settlement patterns and life styles. The argument is that this process can lend itself to a community development strategy which is based upon the differentiation of functions among constituent communities in the total community system. Thus, the approach "does not ignore the aspirations of smaller centres, but it does acknowledge that the kinds of activities that can effectively be located in them are changing" (Meredith, 1975, p. 27). Presumably, this fundamental recognition of the aspirations of all communities would be one of the factors encouraging cooperation among them in reaching agreements "to share costs as well as

benefits", thereby averting "needless duplication of services", and "promoting efficiency in the provision of services" (Ibid).

In summary, the theory of sovereignty-dependence suggests integrative management strategies which are closely related to the community development strategies discussed in connection with the theory of the prairie community system. Essentially, these strategies would involve the building of inter-dependencies through the differentiation of functions among the components of a system. Applied to school systems, this suggests the need for differentiation of educational services among constituent communities, along with provisions for sharing those services. However, no effort will be made in this paper to specify the form that such differentiation and sharing might take. What seems to be the more immediate question at this point in time is whether communities in the rural school jurisdiction are in any way prepared for such a fundamentally cooperative endeavour. This issue will be discussed in the next section.

Cross-cutting Cleavages

Probably the most commonly-discussed theory of political integration and stability concerns the role of "cross-cutting cleavages" or "cross-cutting affiliations" in contributing to stability in societies (including our own) which are pluralistic in composition and therefore prone to conflict. In essence, the presence of cross-cutting cleavages assures that "those persons

who are divided by one cleavage (say, race) will be brought together by another (say religion)..." (Rae and Taylor, 1970, p. 13). On the other hand, cleavages may be "reinforcing" in the sense that "those who are divided by one cleavage (race) will also be divided by another (religion)" (ibid). In the latter case, in other words, the contacts, experiences, and affiliations of distinctive groups of people are "superimposed", with the result that there is little if any opportunity for the development of inter-group toleration through association with other groups in the society (Elcock, 1976, pp. 74-90). Thus, the heterogeneity of a society is in a sense its own best source of stability, provided that the factors differentiating the social divisions are reasonably amenable to mutual toleration, and that overlapping associations and contacts actually occur among the divisions of the society. [1]

---

[1] It should be noted that the special case of "deeply-divided" societies is dealt with in some literature (e.g. Lijphart, 1968; Nordlinger, 1972; Aunger, 1981). Rather ironically in view of the stress which has been placed upon cross-cutting cleavages in so much literature, the work of Lijphart suggests that in societies where the divisions are deeply reinforcing, deliberate efforts need to be made to respect and maintain the integrity of the divisions. Political stability is then achieved by means of a "politics of accommodation" among the governing elites of the society.

It doesn't seem necessary to dwell upon the implications of this theory for the management of administrative units which are geographically, socially, and politically diverse, though it must be acknowledged that the actual impact of "cross-cutting" experiences on the development of integrative relationships remains largely speculative owing to the lack of research attention to this issue. [2] If the theory provides a valid direction for "integrative" management strategies, then it would clearly be important to develop structures and opportunities for promoting contacts and relationships among the constituents of the administrative unit.

With regard to rural school jurisdictions, the key implication of the theory is a need for promoting "toleration" among constituent communities through provisions for inter-community liaison and communication. That such toleration is currently lacking is evident, for example, in the issue of retaining smaller schools which are threatened with eventual closure owing to enrolment decline. Thus, in the studies referred to in this paper, surveys of parent attitudes towards retaining smaller schools have indicated a distinctive split among communities, with parents in the smaller school-communities

---

[2] One study which is relevant to the idea of cross-cutting cleavages is Gamson's 1966 investigation of factors associated with the development of "conventional" and "rancorous" conflict in community politics.

supporting retention (even if it were necessary to raise school taxes for the purpose), and parents in the larger school-communities opposing retention. In one school jurisdiction, for instance, 40 percent of a total of 481 parents who were surveyed supported retention, while 34 percent were in opposition (the remainder were either "neutral" or "not sure"). These groups were composed almost entirely of parents from smaller and larger communities respectively.

Simply stated, this evidence indicates that parents who are associated with schools having relatively stable enrolments tend to be "intolerant" of the aspirations of the residents of smaller communities, who in turn tend to view any threat to the retention of their schools as a direct threat to the survival of the small community itself. Apart from any concern for promoting toleration of small community aspirations, however, it may be argued that these inter-community tensions are ultimately detrimental to the educational purposes of the school system. As noted previously, the atmosphere of "relative deprivation" makes it difficult for school authorities to allocate resources in a manner which is perceived as equitable by constituent communities. In fact, the research evidence referred to in this paper has consistently demonstrated that a large proportion of rural community members tend to perceive inequitability in school board allocative decisions. In the study mentioned above, for example, 44 percent of the total of 481 parents indicated that they felt that some communities in the school system tended to be given more

consideration than others in decisions made by the school board. At the same time, it is evident that school board decision-making is affected by the readiness of communities to perceive that they have been dealt with unfairly. Indeed, in terms of efforts to manage conflict, it apppears that many allocative decisions are based upon a crude kind of equitability principle to the effect that either all communities receive a particular resource, or none of them receive it. With regard to the educational program, then, one issue which is evident in current rural school administration concerns the ability of school authorities to use resources flexibly in the primary interests of promoting program development, as opposed to using them in the primary interest of placating the perceived needs and expressed demands of individual communities. Clearly, too, the strategy of "treating all communities the same" contravenes the idea of promoting inter-dependencies among them.

Conclusion

In reviewing two "integrative factors" which are associated with the theory of political integration, it certainly has not been the intention of this paper to suggest that they offer some kind of panacea for dealing with the problems of coordination and of public consent in rural school systems. Quite apart from any theoretical considerations, however, it appears that events are enforcing the need for a greater degree of inter-community

toleration and cooperation in differentiating and sharing educational services and resources. With regard to the ability of school systems to cope with these events, it may be argued that current approaches to organizing and administering rural school jurisdictions are really quite superficial. In particular, provisions for any form of infrastructural organization appear to be minimal. While political representation includes a system of local school advisory boards as well as a central board of education, analysis of the roles of these local boards indicates that they tend if anything to reinforce the focus on the particular interests of individual communities. This is not to say that such interests should be subsumed in the interests of the "whole", but somewhere along the line an overall perspective is necessary for the school system to fulfill its "functional" role of coordinating educational services within a complex and disparate milieu. An elaboration of opportunities for interrelationships might at least offer the possibility of increasing the propensity of components of the system to negotiate in the interests of the whole.

Of course, it may be argued that tactical exploitation of the diversity of an administrative unit offers the most effective approach to its management. Certainly there are ample opportunities in the rural school jurisdiction for "outpoliticking" sources of dissent and for a "divide and rule" approach to management. This paper has taken the position, however, that such an approach is not only of questionable value

as a long-term strategy, but also really doesn't tax the professional skills, abilities, and responsibilities of those who employ it. In short, one might expect more foresight and ingenuity on the part of school leaders.

References

Ake, C. A theory of political integration. Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1967.

Amstutz, Mark R. An introduction to political science: The management of conflict. Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman, 1982.

Aunger, Edmund A. In search of political stability: A comparative study of New Brunswick and Northern Ireland. Montreal: McGill-Queens Press, 1981.

Bacharach, Samuel B., and Lawler, Edward J. Power and politics in organizations. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980.

Bacharach, Samuel B., and Mitchell, Stephen M. Critical variables in the formation and maintenance of consensus in school districts. Educational Administration Quarterly, Fall 1981, 17 (4), 74-97.

Baldridge, J. Victor. Power and conflict in the university. Toronto: John Wiley and Sons, 1971.

Coser, Lewis. The functions of social conflict. N. Y. The Free Press, 1956.

Deutsch, Karl. Communication Theory and political integration. In P. Jacob and J. Toscano (Eds.), The Integration of political communities. Philadelphia & New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1964.

Elcock, H. Political behaviour. London: Methuen, 1976.

Gaynor, A. Some implications of political systems theory for alternative demand processing mechanisms for public school systems. Educational Administration Quarterly, Winter 1971, 7 (1), 34-45.

Gamson, W. A. Rancorous conflict in community politics. American Sociological Review. February 1966, 31 (1), 71-81.

Gamson, W. A. Power and discontent. Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1968.

Hurwitz, L. Contemporary approaches to political stability. Comparative Politics, April 1973, 5 (3), 449-463.

Jackson, Robert J. and Stein, Michael B. Issues in comparative politics. Toronto: Macmillan, 1971.

Jacob, Philip and Teune, Henry. The integrative process: Guidelines for the analysis of the basis of political community. In P. Jacob and J. Toscano (Eds.) The integration of political communities, N. Y., J. B. Lippincott, 1964.

Lijphart, Arend. The politics of accommodation: Pluralism and democracy in the Netherlands. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

Lucas, B. G. and Lusthaus, C. S. Public involvement in school governance in Canada. In G. Baron (Ed.), The politics of school government. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1981.

Meredith, M. L. The prairie community system. Canadian Farm Economics, October 1975, 10 (5), 19-27.

Nordlinger, Eric. Conflict regulation in divided societies. Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1972.

Pateman, C. Participation and democratic theory. Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Pfeffer, Jeffrey and Salancik, Gerald R. Organization design: The case for a coalitional model of organizations. In L. Cummings & R. Dunham (Eds.), Introduction to organizational behavior: Text and readings. Georgetown, Ontario: Irwin-Dorsey, 1980.

Pirages, Dennis. Managing political conflict. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1976.

Popkewitz, T. S. Schools and the symbolic use of community participation. In C. Grant (Ed.), Community participation in education. Toronto: Allyn and Bacon, 1979.

Rae, D. W., and Taylor, M. The analysis of political cleavages. New Haven and London, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1970.

Salancik, Gerald R., and Pfeffer, Jeffrey. The bases and use of power in organizational decision-making: The case of the university. Administrative Science Quarterly, December 1974, 19 (4).

Salancik, Gerald R., and Pfeffer, Jeffrey. Who gets power and how they hold on to it: A strategic contingency model of power. In L. Cummings & R. Dunham (Eds.), Introduction to organizational behavior: Text and readings. Georgetown, Ontario: Irwin-Dorsey, 1980.

Schattschneider, E. E. The semi-sovereign people: A realistic view of democracy in America. N. Y.: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1960.

Searing, D. Models and images of man and society in leadership theory. In G. Paige (Ed.), Political leadership: Readings for an emerging field. Toronto: Collier-Macmillan, 1972.

Simmie, J. M. Citizens in conflict: The Sociology of town planning. London: Hutchinson Educational, 1974.

Smith, T. Lynn. The sociology of agricultural development. Leidn: E. J. Brill, 1972.

Walker, David C. Education in a rural setting: The closing of Pelham Secondary School. In J. H. A. Wallin (Ed.), The politics of Canadian education. Fourth Yearbook of the Canadian Society for the Study of Education, 1977.

Walton, R. Two strategies of social change and their dilemmas. The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 1966 (1), 167-179.

Wilson, V. S. Canadian public policy and administration: Theory and environment. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1981.

Zimmerman, Carle C. and Moneo, Garry W. The prairie community system. Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada, June, 1971.